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Andreotti Dealt Setback In Inquiry on Mafia Ties

By Alan Cowell
ROME—A panel of the Italian Senate ruled Tuesday that the country's elder statesman, Giulio Andreotti, be stripped of parliamentary immunity from prosecution so that magistrates can pursue investigation into accusations that he associated with the Mafia.



Eritrea Votes for Independence
An Eritrean woman danced in Asmara after the Ethiopian province voted almost unanimously to declare independence.

Military Chiefs See Major Risk In a Yugoslav Air Campaign

WASHINGTON—U.S. and allied air strikes against Bosnian Serbs could be a difficult and long-term operation complicated by damage to civilian areas and downed aircraft, senior American and NATO officers said Tuesday.

Yeltsin Warns Serbs to Accept Plan For Bosnia

MOSCOW—Strengthened by his victory in a nationwide referendum, President Boris N. Yeltsin warned Serbian nationalists Tuesday against expecting any help from Russia if they refused to accept an international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

U.S. Shifts Course on Yen, Intervening to Cap Its Rise

By Lawrence Malkin
NEW YORK—After talking down the dollar against the Japanese yen to strengthen its trade offensive against Tokyo, the Clinton administration signaled Tuesday that the decline had gone far enough for now and intervened to stabilize the currency.

Kiosk U.S. Seeks Iraq War Crimes Inquiry

WASHINGTON (Reuters)—The United States, in a new sign of toughness against Iraq, will revive its push for a United Nations commission to investigate alleged war crimes by Baghdad, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said Tuesday.

Taiwan and China Pledge End to 40 Years of Enmity

By Nicholas D. Kristof
SINGAPORE—Delegates from China and Taiwan met here on Tuesday for historic talks, the first high-level meetings in more than four decades, with both sides professing a desire to replace their long enmity with new cordiality and cooperation.



Medics from United Nations forces removing the bodies of two Muslim civilians from a house near Vitez in central Bosnia on Tuesday.

From Diana, Frank Talk of Bulimia and 'Despair'

LONDON—The Princess of Wales, in a speech drawing on personal experience, described Tuesday how eating disorders developed from a "spiral of secret despair" caused by the trauma of growing up and coping with life.

Montenegro until after the referendum last Sunday on Mr. Yeltsin and his reformist policies.

The fact that Russian voters have now expressed confidence in the president by a solid majority appears to have given Mr. Yeltsin greater room to maneuver politically.

Official results from all but one of Russia's 89 voting districts showed that 58.05 percent of the population had expressed confidence in the president.

A second referendum question on support for Mr. Yeltsin's social and economic policies won the support of 52.88 percent of those taking part in the referendum.

FIRST 100 DAYS / FLAILING AT AN OLD FOE

Clinton Tries Several Tactics, but Perot Won't Buzz Off

By Richard L. Berke

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — They insist that the timing was coincidental. But officials at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, ordered the removal of two portraits of a young midshipman named Ross Perot from an alumni display only days before President Bill Clinton visited earlier this month.

If only Mr. Clinton could so easily remove the image of Mr. Perot, whose grinning presence seems to hang over the White House like an annoying, uninvited visitor.

To the dismay of White House officials, Mr. Perot has emerged as a far more powerful irritant to Mr. Clinton than he ever was as an independent presidential candidate in the campaign last year, when his central mission seemed to be beating up President George Bush.

Unsure of what to do about Mr. Perot, the White House has switched from stroking him to attacking him so ignoring him altogether.

Although Mr. Clinton tried to sound conciliatory last week ("I don't want to get into an argument with Mr. Perot," he said), he stunned many of his advisers by lashing out during the Naval Academy appearance, saying that the Texan had engaged in "rumormongering."

But Mr. Perot always seems to come back with the last laugh, or barb, reminding the White House that Mr. Clinton needs to win over some of the 19 million

people who voted for Mr. Perot if the president is to be re-elected in a two-candidate race in 1996.

Mr. Perot has been anything but hesitant to fling his down-home-style tirades at his onetime presidential rival. He has challenged everything from Mr. Clinton's economic plan to the closed-door operations of Hillary Rodham Clinton's health-care panel.

The attacks only escalated in Mr. Perot's latest media blitz, which began Sunday on an NBC news talk show. He derided Mr. Clinton's ill-fated package to stimulate the economy as having "Mickey Mouse stuff." Then, in the tones of a schoolboy ranting on a classroom, he complained of the president. "He called me a liar."

That was only a warm-up for the half-hour he bought that evening on NBC, in which he urged Americans to lobby the White House and Congress against new taxes without spending cuts.

Depicting Mr. Clinton as a typically untrustworthy politician, he said: "It's just campaign politics. Telling the people what they want to hear at the time."

Perhaps because there has been no phenomenon like Mr. Perot in American political history, White House officials do not know how much of a threat he is. But they know he is a threat.

Mindful of the importance of Mr. Perot's supporters to his own future, Mr. Clinton has signed on to several of the Texan's proposals, from embracing deeper spending cuts than initially planned to pledging wide efforts to tighten campaign finance and ethics laws.

Still, Mr. Clinton and his advisers are grappling with a quandary: what to do about Mr. Perot himself. Thus far, the White House has flailed, moving from one approach to another to another.

Knowing that Mr. Perot's wealth can buy enough television time to sustain his influence, and fearful that he could decide to throw his support to Republicans, some White House advisers have counseled the president to seek Mr. Perot's blessing for his policies. (The first approach.)

The White House chief of staff, Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty Jr., speaks to Mr. Perot from time to time, and even invited his poll-taker, Gordon S. Black, to the White House to discuss his findings. Mr. Clinton spoke to Mr. Perot by telephone to preview his economic plan and seek support.

Mr. Perot was subdued after the initial stroking, but the effect did not last. Before long he was back on the air, bashing the president.

Since Mr. Perot thrives on attention, some Clinton advisers believe that the best thing the White House could do would be to ignore him. (The second approach.)

That seemed to be what the White House communications director, George Stephanopoulos, was doing Monday. Asked whether he had any reaction to Mr. Perot's television appearance Sunday night, he said, "I didn't see it."

Paul Begala, a political adviser to Mr. Clinton, said

the president should concentrate on issues that would appeal to Mr. Perot's supporters and not worry about the man himself.

"What I see too much of in Washington is people who either want to suck up to Mr. Perot or strike out at Mr. Perot," Mr. Begala said. "Let's eliminate the middle man and address the issues that his voters care about."

But Frank Luntz, a former poll-taker for Mr. Perot, said: "Ross Perot has become too popular and too credible for Bill Clinton to ignore. He can buy his way on television. And he's like the Chinese Army: just when you think you're rid of them, more come."

Despite the pleas for restraint, there have been instances in which Mr. Clinton angrily lashed out at Mr. Perot. (The third approach.)

Infuriated at what he interpreted as a slight against Mr. McLarty when Mr. Perot said that the president's advisers lacked business experience, Mr. Clinton added this devastatingly personal line to his speech at the annual dinner of journalists' Gridiron Club: "He just resents it because Mack's a short guy with real power."

Some White House advisers said such comments simply play into Mr. Perot's hands. But the White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, sees it differently. "I think that when Perot says something that is wrong, you have to point out that it's wrong," she said. "The risk with this approach, however, is that it will encourage Mr. Perot to become even more of an enemy."

★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

President's Newest Woo is a Credibility Gap

NEW YORK — President Bill Clinton approaches his 100th day in office with a credibility gap: In a new poll, 48 percent of Americans said that he had broken too many promises.

The Associated Press poll found that more people consider Mr. Clinton a strong leader than not, 49 percent to 37 percent, with the rest unsure. That may be reassuring for a president trying to push for change after winning only 43 percent of the vote in November.

On a separate question, 48 percent said that he had broken promises too often, while 34 percent said he had kept his promises so far. Of those faulting the president for broken promises, most said they were not Democrats, but one in six said they had voted for Mr. Clinton.

Just over 12 percent, or one in eight, gave Mr. Clinton high marks for leadership and low marks for credibility.

Two-thirds of those who said they had voted for President George Bush gave a negative rating to Mr. Clinton's leadership. Those who voted for Ross Perot split about evenly in assessing Mr. Clinton.

The national telephone poll of 1,014 adults was taken April 16 to 20 by ICR Survey Research Group and has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points. (AP)

Shultz on Reagan: Visionary, Stubborn Chief

WASHINGTON — Former President Ronald Reagan is depicted in the memoirs of his secretary of state, George F. Shultz, as a visionary and a stubborn chief executive who often rose above incompetence and uncompromising advisers, but also distorted facts and at times "almost knowingly" deceived himself.

This complex portrait of Mr. Reagan, who is pictured as having been more engaged in decision-making than generally recognized, emerges from Mr. Shultz's new book, "Tumult and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State."

Mr. Shultz maintains that his efforts to build a coherent foreign policy and a relationship with Mr. Reagan were repeatedly undermined by the opposition of conservative advisers in the White House and by William J. Casey, the director of central intelligence, and Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger. Mr. Shultz writes that on several occasions he was on the verge of resigning, but was talked out of it by Mr. Reagan.

While Mr. Shultz sharply criticizes Mr. Reagan's performance in the Iran-contra affair, he also depicts a president who defied his administration's conservative wing to negotiate with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and who changed and grew during his presidency.

"Sometimes President Reagan simply did not care that much about facts and details," Mr. Shultz wrote. "That bothered the press and it bothered me. When he told me how the release of the Russian Pentacostals (from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow) was linked to his subsequent lifting of the grain embargo against the Soviets imposed by Jimmy Carter, I pointed out that he had lifted that embargo shortly after taking office, over two years before the Soviets allowed the Pentacostals to emigrate. He nodded in agreement and kept right on telling the same story. More importantly, no matter how often I pointed out to him that he had indeed traded arms for hostages in the Iran-contra affair, he found that impossible to accept." (WP)

Quote / Unquote

Representative Leslie Byrne, a first-term Democrat from Virginia: "We're builders of the process, not destroyers. We want to see it work better, not throw it out. Those who want to see us take this place apart brick by brick are going to be disappointed." (AP)

Away From Politics

- The United States has denied that its intelligence agents worked with a radical Muslim preacher in New York whose followers have been charged with the World Trade Center bombing. The U.S. ambassador to Egypt, Robert Pelletreau, issued the denial in response to reports suggesting Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman was allowed into the United States in 1990 because he had helped the CIA channel funds to anti-Communist Muslim guerrillas in Afghanistan.
- Two Duval County, Florida, judges targeted in a corruption investigation were convicted of selling favors from the bench. Jurors found two other judges innocent or were undecided on the charges against them.
- The United States, while pushing for limits on weapons of mass destruction, has agreed to sell \$46 billion worth of conventional weapons to developing countries since the Gulf War, with more than half going to the Middle East, the bipartisan Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus said in a report.
- The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. wanted his personal papers to be housed in his native South and not at Boston University, his widow, Coretta Scott King, testified in a lawsuit she brought against the university. She said he had accepted its offer to hold his papers in the mid-1960s because he had been concerned about their safety because of bomb threats.
- The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states cannot bar accountants from soliciting business clients. The 8-to-1 ruling on a ban in Florida was the latest of a series of decisions giving constitutional protection to commercial speech.
- New York City teachers should receive a wage increase of at least 8.5 percent, slightly higher than those received by most other city workers, a state fact-finding panel has recommended. Both sides said the nonbinding recommendation could promote a settlement in a bitter 19-month labor dispute.

Reuters, AP, WP, NYT

A Too-Frank Aide And Balky Congress Budget Chief Causes a Stir

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton struggled Tuesday to revive his stalled legislative agenda and overcome problems made embarrassingly clear in a candid assessment by his budget director.

Leon E. Panetta, the budget director, said Monday that Mr. Clinton's economic program and proposed aid to Russia were facing tough battles in Congress and that support was lacking to approve the free-trade agreement with Canada and Mexico.

He also suggested that the president should delay releasing his health care plan because of problems that Mr. Clinton's separate budget package is having in Congress. His remarks were given wide coverage in the press.

Administration officials scrambled to move past the story on Tuesday, insisting that Mr. Clinton still expected to secure aid to Russia, a modified free-trade pact and a timely health care plan.

Mr. Clinton was asked during his morning jog if he was angry with his budget chief. "What for?" he said.

The White House communications director, George Stephanopoulos, said Mr. Panetta had not talked to Mr. Clinton but was greeted warmly at a meeting of senior staff members on Tuesday afternoon. "No boss," Mr. Stephanopoulos quipped.

According to the spokesman, Mr. Panetta told his colleagues, "Listen, I don't think that was the right characterization of the way I was talking. I'm sorry for the way it turned out."

A senior administration official said Mr. Clinton was "hot at first," but accepted Mr. Panetta's explanation.

Elsewhere, there were comments that the White House was finally owning up to its problems.

"Hallajjah. The truth has been told," said Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska.

Officials publicly and privately denied theories that the budget di-

rector was trying to get a message to Mr. Clinton that the administration was using him to lower the nation's expectations of Mr. Clinton's presidency.

Mr. Clinton told the National Realtors Association that "the changes we have to make won't be easy."

"It hasn't been easy so far," he added. "It's not going to be easy in the future."

He also met with Democratic leaders of Congress to plot strategy for his economic package and to discuss progress on health care changes.

The president told the realtors group that he had spent his first 100 days trying "to overcome inertia, ideology and indifference."

"Now the time has come to reinvigorate and re-energize our efforts to make sure that the budget steps that have been taken are going to be followed through on," he said.

Mr. Stephanopoulos, describing Mr. Clinton's reaction to Mr. Panetta's comments, said, "He kind of had a small smile on his face — and said, obviously he wished, the story didn't happen, but I don't know his exact words."

Mr. Stephanopoulos said Mr. Clinton, like Mr. Panetta, had said it would be difficult to get Congress to approve aid for Russia until there was progress on his domestic agenda.

The U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, and Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown were forced to reiterate the administration's support of the North American Free Trade Agreement, with side agreements to protect workers and the environment.

Mr. Panetta was quoted as saying the agreement was "dead," a word Mr. Stephanopoulos said applied only to the status of the accord now.

"I expect NAFTA to be approved by the Congress" when the side agreements are completed, Mr. Stephanopoulos added. "It's certainly not dead."

AMERICAN TOPICS

Baseball Not Guilty Of Flight to Suburbs

Professional baseball has a poor record of promoting blacks to management positions or in promoting the game itself in the inner city. Today, far more black youths are playing basketball and football on inner-city sandlots than are playing baseball — a trend that may bode ill for baseball's future.

Baseball is not guilty, however, of moving from downtown stadiums near black neighborhoods to the white suburbs, despite a widespread belief to the contrary, James A. Berard says in a letter to The Washington Post.

"In the 1993 season, only three of the 28 major league teams will play the game in the suburbs," Mr. Berard writes. These are the California Angels, the Texas Rangers and the Florida Marlins. All other 25 teams play within the cities whose names they wear, except for the Minnesota Twins and the Colorado Rockies. These two teams are named after states, but both play downtown in those states' biggest cities, Minneapolis and Denver.

More and more people consider religion to be "very important" in their lives, according to a Gallup Poll. Fifty-eight percent say religion is very important, 29 percent say it is somewhat important, and 12 percent say it is unimportant. There has been a slow but steady increase since 1987 in the number of people who consider religion very important in their lives.

Short Takes

Before hearings, valves and other mechanical moving parts break down, they usually squeal and squeak — but often at frequencies too high for the human ear. Traditionally, the resulting breakdowns are headed off by preventive maintenance — replacing components after a certain time. But this means some parts get replaced too soon, and others break down ahead of



AIMING THEIR CASE AT THE TOP BRASS — Demonstrators outside the Pentagon, part of a group of about 300, calling for an end to the ban on homosexuals' serving in the military.

schedule, causing stoppages. Now, The New York Times reports, industry is increasingly getting around this age-old problem by using ultrasound devices that detect trouble before it gets serious.

tournament, the Los Angeles Times recalls, one of the competitors, Count de Barend, found his ball lodged in the bank of a brook. Deciding that he could play the ball, he took off his left shoe and sock and rolled his pants leg above the knee. Then he very carefully planted the bare

foot on the bank and stepped into the water with his well-shod right foot.

The Times says, "The look on his face as he realized what he had done was more memorable than his shot."

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By 1,000-1 Ratio, Eritrea Votes for Independence

By Jennifer Parmelee
Washington Post Service

ASMARA, Eritrea — Eritrea's divorce from Ethiopia was pronounced final Tuesday, after three decades of bitterness that had transformed this Red Sea region into one of Africa's bloodiest and most expensive battlegrounds.

More than a million voters who trace their heritage to Eritrea decided by a landslide margin to declare independence from Ethiopia, according to provisional results of an internationally observed referendum.

Eritrea is a sovereign country as of today, said Isaias Afewerki, leader of Eritrea's provisional government and of the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front, in a victory statement Tuesday night. The former rebel group has been running its own government since it defeated the Ethiopian Army two years ago.

"This outcome is not surprising or unexpected," Mr. Isaias said. "Indeed, the issue at stake was not some political contest but the very survival, the question of 'to be or not to be' of a people."

The overwhelming chorus of "yes" to Eritrea's self-determination drowned out the "no" votes, which accounted for only a fraction of a percentage point. The Eritrean referendum commission, Amare Tekle, said provisional results showed 1,100,260 people voting for independence

and only 1,822 opposed in Eritrean Ethiopia and the 38 foreign countries that are home to the Eritrean "diaspora."

Turnout was estimated at 98.5 percent of registered voters.

The outcome put a legal stamp on the de facto separation of Ethiopia and Eritrea, whose war had ravaged two of the world's poorest countries.

Other countries competed to be the first to recognize the new state as soon as the results had been certified by Samir Sanbar, an envoy sent by the United Nations to monitor the referendum.

The United States joined Sudan, Egypt and Italy as the first four governments to validate the Eritrean government's sovereignty over the population of about 3.2 million.

Eritrea, which will wait until next month's anniversary of the end of its war to make its formal declaration of independence, is the first country in Africa to secede from another since the colonial powers began to leave the continent in the late 1950s.

Although some Eritreans say their separate identity was born in ancient times, most trace the development of an Eritrean "national feeling" to the country's 51 years as an Italian colony separate from Ethiopia.

After World War II, the United Nations linked the two countries in a federal sys-

tem. That arrangement was abrogated in 1962 when Emperor Haile Selassie annexed Eritrea and declared it an Ethiopian province, setting off the long armed struggle.

Although the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front marched to victory in May 1991, its leadership decided to delay any declaration of independence until after the referendum.

"The EPLF was keenly aware that the issues of sovereignty and membership in the international community were predicated on a democratic and legal conclusion to the conflict," Mr. Isaias said.

Officials of the front said another reason they had deferred a formal separation was to avoid further angering a segment of Ethiopian society, mostly the urban elite, that had strongly opposed Eritrean independence.

The issue has been used by political opponents to attack Ethiopia's transitional government, which is run by a former sister guerrilla organization that helped defeat the army of the dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in May 1991 and had begun a democratic experiment of its own.

As soon as the vote tally was announced Tuesday by loudspeaker and government radio, Eritreans took to the streets in another of the series of noisy celebrations that have been breaking out since voting began Friday.

Men, women and children sang and danced in the streets of Asmara, a graceful Italian-style capital of pastel villas, clean palm-lined streets and brilliant flowers. Cars decorated with Eritrean and Liberation Front flags cruised the streets, horns honking and radios tuned to news broadcasts. A marching band accompanied the revelers.

When the euphoria of independence dies down and the mechanics of statehood take precedence, however, Eritrea will face a difficult struggle to repair billions of dollars of war damage and to move its people from heavy dependence on foreign charity to development and self-reliance — as well as to put in place the democratic institutions that the Liberation Front says it is committed to.

An Eritrean businessman, Hapte Kay-say, quoted a proverb in Tigrinya, one of Eritrea's many languages. In rough translation it means, "Once you find a place to crouch, you will eventually need to stretch your legs."

"Everybody is very happy about the end of the war, about freedom and independence. You can see that for yourself," he told a journalist. "But now we must see whether this government will really give us a multiparty system, as it has promised, and the other expressions of democracy. That will be the real test."

ITALY: Blow to Andreotti

(Continued from page 1)

structing justice at a time when Italy's political parties were already tainted by scandal.

"After a long, painful and difficult series of considerations we believe that abstention was the most correct solution, because we do not believe in the truth of the allegations against Andreotti," said an official of the party, Silvio Coco.

"We are certain that Andreotti will prove fully that he had nothing to do with these things," he said. "But at the same time, we have full confidence in the Palermo magistrature and are sure that it will work with impartiality and balance."

The party leadership had said earlier that its members on the panel should vote according to their consciences.

Those who voted in favor of lifting Mr. Andreotti's immunity came primarily from his political opponents, notably former Communists, the insurgent Northern League and neofascists.

TALKS: China-Taiwan Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

meeting itself is taking place," said a Western diplomat.

The dialogue nominally is conducted between two unofficial, nongovernmental organizations created for the purpose. Taiwan is wary of direct talks between its leaders and those of the mainland, and so it restricts the negotiations to technical and administrative matters.

"We will discuss matters pertinent to economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges across the Taiwan Straits," Wang Daoshan, the leader of the Chinese delegation, said on his arrival in Singapore.

Mr. Wang, 78, a former mayor of Shanghai, is retired, but he remains an important elder statesman who is believed to be close to Jiang Zemin, the Communist Party leader, and to a lesser extent to Deng Xiaoping, the senior leader.

The Taiwan delegation is headed by C. F. Koo, a billionaire industrialist who serves on the highest decision-making committee of the governing Nationalist Party. Both Mr. Koo and Mr. Chiu, the Taiwan spokesman for the talks, are close to President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan.

The only prickliness came after Mr. Wang, in a long statement in their morning session on Tuesday,

Teachers Strike in Lebanon

BEIRUT — Most public and private schools were closed Tuesday as many of the country's 70,000 teachers began an indefinite strike, seeking pay raises and improved benefits.

Yugoslavia Leads NATO's Agenda

The Associated Press

BRUSSELS — General Colin L. Powell of the United States and other NATO military chiefs Tuesday opened two days of discussions that are expected to focus on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The top military officers of North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations met amid increasing calls for Western nations to use force to end the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Officials said that the chiefs were likely to spend much of their time discussing arrangements for a possible peacekeeping force to carry out any peace accord in the region.

But they did not rule out a general discussion of the option of using air strikes to knock out Serbian artillery batteries and supply lines in Bosnia. In the past, General Powell, who heads the Joint Chiefs of Staff in his country, and other military officials have warned that an air operation could lead to increased fighting.

NATO specialists have been drawing up contingency plans for a

peacekeeping force of 65,000 to 75,000 to help the United Nations enforce a possible peace accord.

Pentagon officials have said there are contingency plans for the deployment of as many as 25,000 American air, sea and ground forces to support such an operation. France, Britain and Russia also would be expected to take part. But there has not been any peace agreement between Serbian and Bosnian combatants.

France, which does not belong to NATO's joint military command, has disagreed with the United States over command and control of a peacekeeping mission.

Washington favors a strong NATO chain of command. But France and some other European nations would like to see more involvement by the United Nations.

On Wednesday, the military officers will meet with their counterparts from nearly 20 East European nations, the second such conference between the former Cold War adversaries.

FORCE: Warnings About Bosnia

(Continued from page 1)

bly prefer bombing to any of the other military options under study.

"The president wants a definable objective, not just a spasm of bombing, and a limitation of scope," the U.S. official told The Times. "We are prepared to lead, but not to act alone."

The White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, said Tuesday that Mr. Clinton had planned to speak by telephone with President Francois Mitterrand of France to try to build allied support for tougher action against the Bosnian Serbs.

France and Britain have been reluctant to endorse stronger military action, fearing it would place at risk thousands of their soldiers who are in Bosnia to escort relief convoys.

Meanwhile, a new poll showed that the American public had little enthusiasm for military action. A CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll conducted last weekend found 62 percent of respondents opposed American air strikes against Serbian targets, while 30 percent were in favor.

Admiral Jeremiah declined to say what advice had been given to Mr. Clinton about options, including the partial lifting of an arms embargo so that embattled Muslims could obtain weapons. But he praised Mr. Clinton, saying the president "has a thorough understanding of all of the consequences surrounding the problem."

He said that foul weather and rough terrain in Bosnia made air raids against Serbian artillery and supply routes difficult, especially if Serbian guerrillas and weapons are hidden in bunkers or civilian buildings such as barns, schools or churches.

The admiral said the Western aircraft would have to fly low and

expose themselves to anti-aircraft fire, and he added that air strikes or other action in thickly forested and mountainous Bosnia would be more troublesome than were the Western operations in the deserts of Kuwait and Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War.

Admiral Jeremiah said Serbian military supply routes consisted not only of a few main roads from Serbia into Bosnia but also of thousands of paths and trails invisible from the air.

Earlier in April, U.S. Army General John Shalikashvili, the supreme allied commander of NATO forces in Europe, had expressed strong doubt in testimony before the U.S. Congress that Western bombing could force Bosnian Serbs to accept peace.

In Brussels, Sir Richard said a military operation over Bosnia would be "an immensely complex and demanding technical undertaking."

He said that if an air operation were directed at heavy artillery, Serbians would probably move their weapons "to the middle of villages, next to the mosques, adjacent to the schools."

He added, "That's the reality you've got to face up to."

He emphasized that military officials would insist on a "clear legal authority that stands up under international law" and that would be accompanied by a plan for restoring the civilian sector of the country, including not only the physical infrastructure but also a legal and political system.

"The military out there are a means to an end; they are not an end in themselves," Sir Richard said. "If we go out on the basis that we're an end in ourselves, we will be there halfway through the next century."

(Reuters, AP, NYT)

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OPINION

Toward New Limits on Sexuality

WASHINGTON — With mastery mistiming, the inspector-general's office of the U.S. Navy released its final report on the Tailhook scandal...

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

The drunken naval aviators who disgraced themselves in Las Vegas two years ago (a minority, we are assured) also intruded into your space and mine...

When private impulses impinge on public spaces, society deserves a say.

can I. But the clear common denominator is that Americans are still arguing over public sexual morality.

Privately, we Americans are far more tolerant, or permissive, than ever. Few of us care any longer to try to regulate what consenting adults, of whatever sexual predilection, do behind closed doors.

The results were sometimes shocking. In one of the sensational scandals of my time, a drinking club, at my university staged a "pig party" for a society whose members were humiliated to arrive and find the party room festooned with inflated condoms and similarly suggestive decor.

It was equally acceptable in those days, however, to react with distaste to any public display of homosexual inclinations. The term "homosexual rights"

would have been regarded as an acronym. There were none. The bigotry was so intense that even people who carried furred umbrellas were joked about.

Were it left to me, many years later, is what new limits we will set for sexuality in the public square.

In issues of sex, as in so many other matters, we seem to find it almost impossible today to keep our private tastes and inclinations to ourselves.

Skepticism has gained the upper hand in Palestinian ranks as a result. The danger to all peoples in the region is that there will be a loss of faith in the possibility of a just and secure peace.

Lots of Fuzzy Feminist Thought in Silly Books

By Katherine Knorr

PARIS — This being the age of "don't-kiss-but-do-tell," it shouldn't have come as a surprise recently when I read of an acrimonious debate at the University of Oklahoma over whether Anita Hill should be given an endowed chair to research sexual harassment.

I guess that means that Anita Hill, whose accusations against Clarence Thomas certainly lived up to his confirmation hearings, is considered an expert, even a scholar, in this new academic field, sexual harassment studies.

MEANWHILE

myth), Patricia Ireland, Gloria Steinem and the women's studies crowd.

We've come a long way, baby, from the travails of suffragettes, who were kicked by horses and force-fed in prison as they fought a long, brutal battle for the vote.

In a way, we have. Men aren't saying it anymore, women are.

The weaker a cause, the more strident its supporters. How else to account for the flood of feminist books and other political tracts, and the obliging way the media devote miles of newspaper and hours of television to all sorts of unrelated subjects that somehow get lumped together as women's issues?

"Fuzzy feminist thought confuses crime (rape), neurosis (low self-esteem), business (wage discrepancies) and home-ec (who does the dishes?), and bathes it all in Marxist banalities.

All the silly books with their old-fashioned utopianism, confessional tone and persistent misuse of the word "rights" are telling women they should be angry about all sorts of things: not only about light sentences for rapists or hate-by-neighbor Christians who bomb abortion clinics but also about breast cancer and menopause and cosmetic gaudiness and the creep at the office who scratches his private parts.

notably at the National Organization for Women, between women's "rights" and gay "rights."

The most grievous effect of the lunacy surrounding the feminist movement is that all the moaning and gender-talk bring women back to their entrails: We are our hormones, we are frail creatures constantly being preyed on by men and we need protection, preferably involving lots of government regulation and money.

Women don't have an easy time of it in the workplace. A lot of men are uncomfortable with, if not hostile to, their very presence, with everything that entails. But it isn't a conspiracy. Men don't have an easy time of it, either.

Sexual harassment is real, but most of what is called sexual harassment isn't. Crying wolf all the time just confirms a lot of men's opinions that women can't pull their share, don't know how to play the game and will always squeal to the teacher.

The subject of relations between men and women is extremely interesting, and nothing new. But you certainly wouldn't know it from consulting university press catalogues, where what passes for scholarship is a lot of offensively stupid tripe on the subject now offensively titled gender, which ignores that the war between the sexes is sometimes a lot of fun.

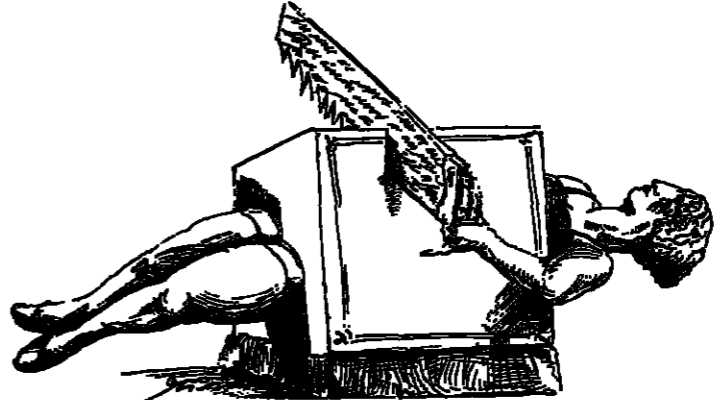
In the last 200 years, many intelligent things have been written about the woman question, among them the wise and witty "A Room of One's Own," Virginia Woolf's refined argumentation is nowhere to be found in all those "scholarly" books that look for incest and masturbation in great novels like her own.

If it's so important to have female role models, as professional feminists tell us, why do we so love talking about Marilyn Monroe? Why are we more interested in Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton than in Eudora Welty or Flannery O'Connor? Why are there no feminist books cheering for Margaret Thatcher? You don't have to agree with her politics to see that she is a feminist heroine.

The existence of women's studies programs suggests that women are too stupid to get real degrees. They have replaced sociology and psychology and education as the soft fields where girls could get good grades while waiting to find Mr. Right.

Knowledge is power. Girls who want to make their mark on this world should be competing for the best degree in the best college they can work their way into.

Along the way, a student might actually gain insight into relations between men and women when she understands why most women, given a choice, would go with Count Vronsky rather than stay with Charles Bovary.



This Brings Us No Closer to the Real Anita Hill

NEW YORK — One of the most enduring sociopolitical mysteries of the 20th century for many Americans will surely be the question of what really happened between Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill.

The thesis of this inquiry into the forces behind the woman who accused the man who was confirmed by the Senate to sit on the Supreme Court is that her supporters were wrong about her from beginning to end.

Here goes: An old friend who was told years before of sexual harassment in the workplace hears of the nomination and calls to ask if Anita is going to do anything about "that pig." Profes-

sor Hill does not correct the misconception about the identity of the pig, allowing her friend to believe it was Clarence Thomas. (An alternate suspect is offered, Mr. Brock is enamored of the theory that Ms. Hill sometimes used charges of sexual harassment to excuse failures that were a function of an affirmative action system that pushed her beyond her capabilities.)

Her story becomes a rumor, leaked to reporters, passed on to members of the Senate. But instead of clearing up the misconception, Ms. Hill, a cryptoradical who felt ill used by her former boss, winds up telling the world a series of whoppers to block the nomination.

Opponents of the Thomas nomination are the sinister "Shadow Senate," the book tells us, while Thomas supporters are just plain folks.

When Clarence Thomas supports black protégés, this is seen as praiseworthy; when Anita Hill is accused of favoring black students, she is a reverse racist.

Susan Hoehner, she of the pig conversation, is described as "something of a professional student" who allegedly took Valium and married three times.

Get me Oliver Stone. — From a column by Anna Quindlen in The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

On the Killing Ground

Regarding "Europe's Reason to Skip Bosnia Arm's All Bad" (Opinion, April 21) by Roy Dammann:

I wonder if Mr. Dammann has ever seen a family executed. I wonder what his state of mind would be if, as a father, he were to look at his child and wife knowing that they were about to be shot.

We must ask those who would oppose intervention in Bosnia whether they have ever felt absolute fear — a fear so strong you can taste it and feel it. Or know the feeling of powerlessness of seeing friends and relatives executed, knowing that no one was going to help, no one — and that the entire family would die in a lonely field.

If every politician could see that, there would be no hesitancy or waffling. When these things are witnessed, not to mention experienced, political barriers (illusions) cease to exist.

Revision unopposed is as contagious as the plague? Or do they refuse to remember? As long as man does not care for man, inherently will continue. If a political solution cannot be found (no doubt it cannot) then action must be taken by nations. It is immoral otherwise.

DAVID TRICE, Môtiers, Switzerland.

Conditions of Peace

Regarding "The Rush Is on for a 'Peace Process' Giveaway" (April 13) by William Safire:

It is a warped perspective that would perceive the participation of the Palestinian leader Faisal Hussein in the peace negotiations as a "whopping pre-emptive concession" by Israel and as a "danger." In fact, the step is an easing of one condition (Israeli "veto power" over members of the Palestinian delegation) out of a series of obstructive Israeli conditions imposed on the Palestinian side.

Pre-Moorish Spain

Regarding "Córdoba and the Koran" (Postcard, March 3) by Alan Riding:

The writer states that Andalusia "had not been Christianized before the Arab occupation began in 711." In fact all of Spain was Christian several centuries before the Muslim invaders landed.

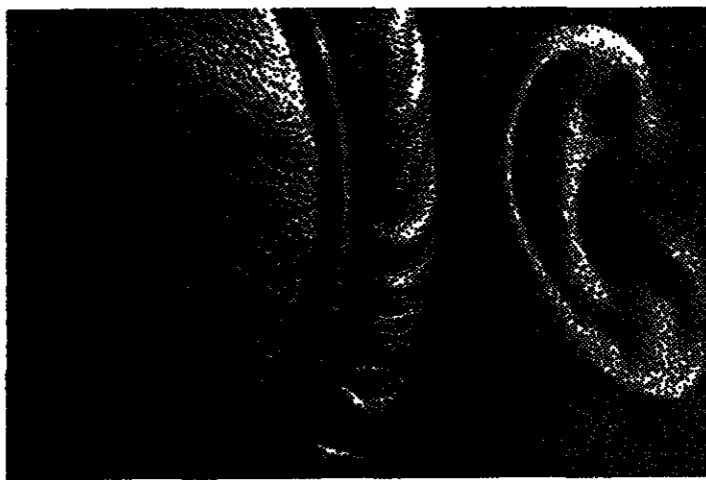
It is true that the Visigothic kingdom that fell to Islam was ruled by the Azimans, a heretical Christian sect, but Catholic roots ran deep; the Christian martyrs of Córdoba who eagerly sought persecution and death by publicly reviling the prophet Mohammed a century later (much to the embarrassment of the tolerant Umayyad government) are an example of this surviving Christian fervor.

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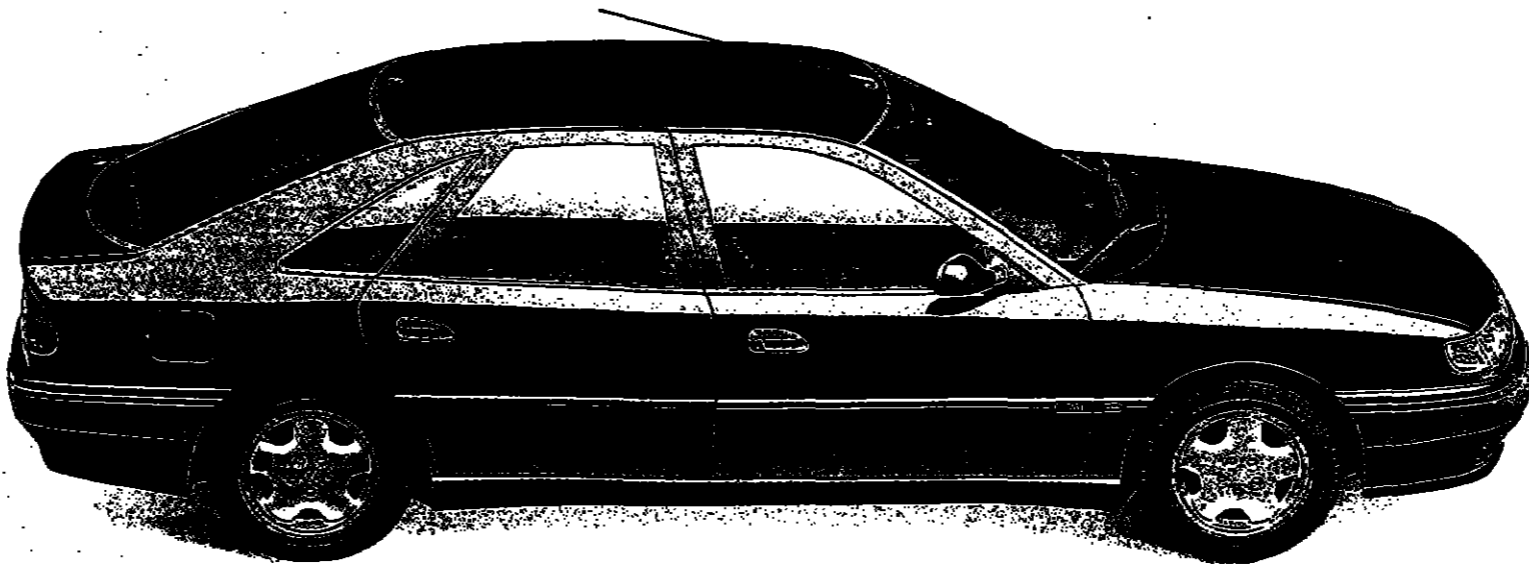


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A Western Actor's Search for Comic Meaning in Beijing Opera

By Ted Pfaffer

BEIJING — It is hard to imagine an art form more alien to the Western viewer than Beijing Opera. With themes drawn from ancient Chinese folklore, it is performed within a rigid framework of symbolic conventions. Its lyrics, delivered in archaic, highly inflected Mandarin, are accompanied by the strident twang of exotic stringed instruments and punctuated with crescendos of shrill percussion.

But the British actor Stuart Kingston believes that beneath the uniquely Chinese cacophony there is something universal, and he has come to Beijing to find out what it is. For the past 19 months, Kingston, 38, has been studying the art form in its birthplace.

During his long career as a performer of Greek tragedy and commedia dell'arte, he has specialized in the role of the masked buffoon. Now, as the first of a handful of foreigners living and studying at the Beijing Opera School, Kingston is exploring the role of that stock character from another perspective.

"There are basic universal roots in the acting of the clown," he explains. "I am trying to see where the links are between the different origins and perceptions of the clown in West and East."

Exploiting ugliness for comic effect, the character has developed along similar lines in both traditions. Because of his grotesque, distorted appearance, the clown is isolated from society and thus able to attack it from the outside. The Chinese clown's satire, however, is somewhat less blunt than that of his Western counterpart.

"In commedia dell'arte, the buffoon functioned like a sort of medieval Monty Python. He was out of the fold and had carte blanche to mock the norms of society and the church," Kingston says. "The Beijing Opera clown also attacks societal norms, but at a higher level. The satire is much more subtle."

Technically, the Chinese roles are very demanding. In addition to singing, Beijing Opera performers must also master intricate hand gestures, dance steps, martial arts maneuvers, and acrobatic stunts. Foreigners, of course,

face the added challenge of learning and delivering their lines in Chinese.

Kingston, who knew none of the language when he first arrived, now speaks intelligible, if inelegant, Chinese. But from the very beginning he found he was able

Exploring the role of the masked buffoon from another perspective after commedia dell'arte.

to communicate with his teacher through the "clown language" of mime, confirming his hunch that he would find something in Beijing Opera that transcends cultural differences.

Kingston's first encounter with things Chinese occurred in 1968 when, during a demonstration at the Chinese embassy in London, Red Guards gave him a copy of the famous little red

book called "Quotations From Chairman Mao." While that episode aroused his interest in the Chinese way of thinking, it was not until he saw a performance by a touring Beijing Opera troupe in 1987 that he found anything he could relate to. "Watching that performance, I immediately felt that much of it was somehow familiar to me," he says.

In September 1991, after spending eight years in Israel as a member of the Mahabara Theater Company, Kingston made his way to China. Finding the right school and persuading its administrators to admit a foreign student for the first time took considerable effort. The school, a spartan but cheerful facility located in the far southwestern corner of the capital, is China's premier training ground for Beijing Opera performers. In addition to Kingston and the four other foreign students who later enrolled, there are nearly 200 teenage Chinese students from all over the country.

The role Kingston has chosen to study is from an opera called "Shuang Xia Shan" ("Two People Coming Down From the Mountains"), which tells the story of a

young, disillusioned Buddhist monk who quits his hill-top monastery. As he descends to the valley, he meets and falls in love with a young nun making her own way down from the convent on the opposite slope.

"This is a very difficult opera to perform," says Kingston's teacher, Jin Guangyao. "There are many operas Stuart could have chosen that would have been simpler, but he's very capable and has made tremendous progress. In my mind, he has already graduated from student to performer." Kingston's final examination will consist of a nationally televised performance. Afterward, he plans to return home and resume his acting career.

He and two of the other foreign students hope to stage a production incorporating some of the themes and techniques they have studied in Beijing. "My objective was not to stay in China and perform Beijing Opera, but to learn something that I can apply to my acting work back in the West," Kingston says. "I think I've succeeded."

Ted Pfaffer is a journalist based in Beijing.

A Feminist Drumbeat in Frankfurt

By Brandon Mitchener
International Herald Tribune

FRANKFURT — Superficially, Germany's banking capital is considered a quiet, conservative town. Culturally, however, it has always strived to be progressive, a tradition that applies not only to its German theaters but also to two English-language stages that lately have been beating a feminist drum.

The city's biggest anglophone playhouse, the English Theater near the main train station, is managed by Judith Rosenbauer, a New York-born actress who moved here 25 years ago and founded the theater in 1979.

Across town in the trendy Bornheim quarter, Rosenbauer got company — and occasional competition — last September with the debut of the aptly named English Pocket Theater, a one-room stage under the direction of Dorothy Stuart, a British author, actress and director who has lived in Germany 15 years.

It was perhaps inevitable that the two women, who can take credit for shaping Frankfurt's English-language theater scene, lend it a decidedly feminist flavor as well.

At the English Theater, artistic direction and administration are in the hands of women, and the current production, "Death and the Maiden," a moral thriller by Ariel Dorfman, is about a victim of gang rape who gets the chance to get even with her chief tormenter.

The play touches universal themes such as pain, guilt, revenge and healing, many of which have a special resonance in an audience that averages 85 percent Germans. "We'll die from so much past, we'll suffocate!" the accused rapist exclaims at one point, sharing the sentiments of many Germans tired of being reminded of their country's troubled history.



Paul Arlington and Judith Rosenbauer in "Death and the Maiden."

Friend," had been the longest running musical ever to play Frankfurt.

Nevertheless, she does not shy away from controversy, on or off stage. The tabloid Bild recently shocked Frankfurt socialites with a large photo of the actress "riding" a male stripper and the commentary "nobody flipped out more than the boss of the English Theater" at a ladies-only performance. Rosenbauer claims she was tricked into the pose — but she also smiled at the memory.

On stage, Rosenbauer is nervous only when she knows someone in the audience. Off stage, she rules her actors with an iron fist, according to members of the cast of "The Boy Friend" who asked to remain unidentified. In London's competitive West End market, where each cast is recruited and conducts the first rehearsals, actors are "like sand on the beach," she noted.

Both of Frankfurt's English-language theaters survive on shoestring budgets and financial assistance from the city, as well as donations from patrons.

The English Pocket Theater, which puts on performances four days each month and caters to an audience strong in students of English, also shows a strong bias toward plays written by and featuring women this season.

After opening with Daniel Defoe's "Moll Flanders" last September, the April program featured director Dorothy Stuart in "Mary," a play about Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, "a dynamic woman who — 200 years ago — planted her foot firmly along the path of female emancipation."

May features the American actress Elaine Ives-Cameron in a portrait of the poet Sylvia Plath, who snuffed out her own life at the age of 31, and the season ends with Lotie Ward as Shirley Valentine, "an ordinary housewife who finds an extremely easy solution to her frustrations — and achieves almost every woman's fulfillment."



Sarah Burghard (left) and Sylvia Sims in Somerset Maugham's "For Services Rendered."

At Old Vic, Late Dues to Maugham

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — When, soon after the death of Somerset Maugham, a somewhat racy account of his homosexuality was published to the considerable profit of his author Beverly Nichols, someone asked Noel Coward for a reaction. "It is so lovely for dear Beverly," replied Coward, "to have all that gold down in Somerset."

In the intervening quarter-centu-

ry, Somerset gold has been somewhat scarce, but a little of it is now to be found at the Old Vic in a rare revival (from the Salisbury Playhouse) of his "For Services Rendered."

LONDON THEATER

"For Services Rendered" is a defiantly uncommercial piece: "I expected nothing of it," wrote

Maugham later, "and during rehearsals amused myself by devising the way it could have been written more sentimentally to achieve popularity; but that was not the play I wished to write."

The play he wished to write was a savage reply to Coward's patriotic epic "Cavalcade," staged a few months earlier. Maugham's message to the nation was that the whole bloody thing had gone wrong, that World War I had been fought largely in vain, and that there was another just waiting to happen. Not surprisingly, this was not a popular message with theatergoers of the early '30s, and though the play made a star of Flora Robson and established both Ralph Richardson and Cedric Hardwicke, it survived barely eight weeks initially and has seldom been seen since.

We are in the comfortable home of a snug Kent solicitor: gathered around him are a quietly dying wife, a bankrupt war hero, and a lecherous nonvent-richer neighbor with extramarital designs on one of his daughters. She has two sisters, thereby giving us the nudge towards Chekhov: for this is indeed the Home Counties version of "Three Sisters," though Maugham has in fact a still darker purpose. The blind son, the bankrupt and the drunk are all still the walking wounded of World War I. Fourteen years after the Armistice, society (in the form of the solicitor) has decided it no longer wishes to have to deal with them. There is a time limit in heroism, and it is up.

"For Services Rendered" is a cynical, bitter, unwieldy, prophetic drama which ends with one daughter gone mad, another turned to prostitution, and father wonderfully unaware of the wreckage littered around his own hearth. "Well," he says jovially as the curtain falls on it, "I must say it's nice to have a cup of tea by one's fireside: this England of ours isn't done for yet."

But Maugham thought differently, and soon moved to another country professionally as well as privately. He left behind him a lost classic, which gives us the bridge from Pinero and Lonsdale to Priestley and Rattigan. The Salisbury production stars Sylvia Sims, and is at times little more than adequate, but remains hugely valuable for its rediscovery of a crucial dramatic signpost.

At the Hampstead, Judith Thompson's "Lion in the Streets" is another in their series of fragmented and fractured plays about

why it would be unwise to move to Canada. After last month's serial killers in Alberta, we now get lessons in Toronto trying to make sense of alienated lives and loves.

Some of these fragments from Canadian street-life work very strongly indeed, notably a confrontation between a vacuous journalist and a victim of cerebral palsy, but others look like outlines for one-act plays which somehow never quite come together into a coherent whole.

At the Royal Court, Martin Cimp's "The Treatment" is infinitely more powerful, if no better as an advertisement for Manhattan

Finding Somerset Gold in 'For Services Rendered.'

street life. Here we have an abused girl (Jacqueline Defferay) who decides to sell her story to a couple of wheeler-dealing "facilitators", somehwere halfway between agents and producers, who then proceed to abuse her still further until soon they are all caught up in a labyrinth of King Lear Goes to New York, a city full of blind cab drivers leading blind passengers down blind alleys.

What could have been, in last expert hands, just another Broadway-to-Hollywood satire becomes in Lindsey Posner's chilling production several more degrees of separation, with Sheila Gish immortally capturing the kind of American show-biz dame who could kill you with a blow of her nose.

At the Donmar Warehouse, for those in search of something a little less immediate, Declan Donnellan's Cheek by Jowl company has a stylish rediscovery of Alfred de Musset's "On ne badine pas avec l'amour, newly translated by Donnellan himself as "Don't Fool With Love." This is the one about the cousins whose increasingly destructive romance leads to one death and considerable disillusion.

Written at the time of Musset's break with George Sand, it is a bitter little fable given here a satirically chilly portrayal by Maria Miles and Michael Sheen, through which the French Revolution seems occasionally to be trying to break. For reasons unclear, Donnellan has preceded it with a breathtakingly pointless curtain-raiser by Michel de Ghelderode called "The Blind Men," which is much like "Waiting For Godot" without the laughs.

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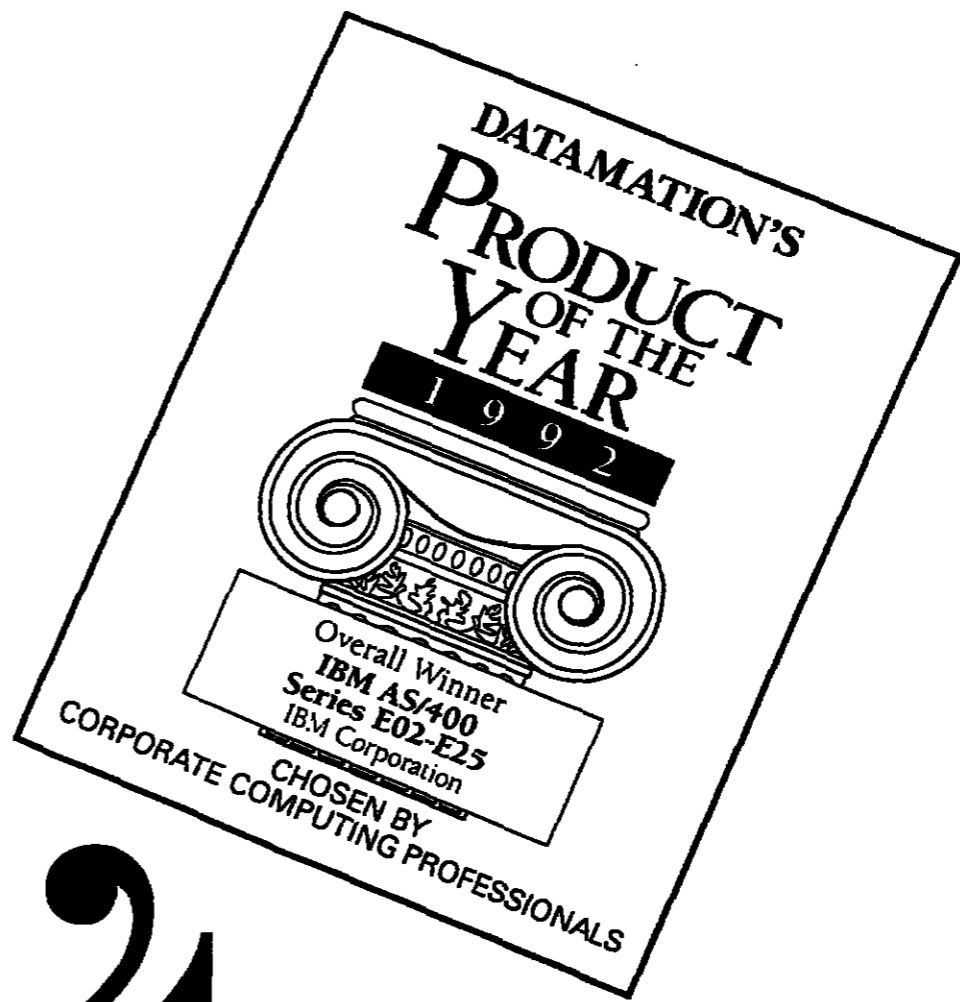
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NYSE

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

17 March High Low Stock Div Yld PE High Low Limit Order

Table of NYSE stock market data including columns for High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, and Limit Order. The table contains multiple columns of data for various stocks.

Positive Data for U.S. Confidence and Personal Income Rise

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON—The United States economy showed several positive economic signs on Tuesday, including a jump in consumer confidence, personal income and wages.

Consumer confidence jumped nearly five points in April to 67.7 from 62.2 in March, the Conference Board said. The gain still left the consumer confidence measure more than 10 points below the high of 78.1 reached in December following President Bill Clinton's electoral victory.

But the gauge of confidence in the economy, released monthly by the private research group, was better than analysts had expected. It was also the first time confidence had strengthened since December.

The confidence report came as the government reported that Americans' personal income rebounded across much of the country last year, including long-suffering New England.

However, hurricanes held back incomes in Florida and Hawaii, and defense spending cuts hurt California.

A separate report said workers' pay and benefits rose a bit faster than inflation in the past year.

The Commerce Department said incomes per person last year grew 3.9 percent nationally to \$19,841, a clear advance over the 2.4 percent increase in 1991.

It was the first time income growth improved since 1989. Incomes grew 5.3 percent in 1990, 6.5 percent in 1989 and 6.2 percent in 1988.

The 1991 report, the worst in 30 years, was used by President Clinton in his attacks on the economic record of President George Bush.

But, last year, income growth was faster than the 3.2 percent inflation rate in a special price index tied to the income figures.

Forty-four states and the District of Columbia shared in the improvement. The six states with a deceleration in growth were Montana, Hawaii, Louisiana, South Dakota, Wyoming and Texas.

Regionally, the far West had the worst income growth last year, only 2.6 percent. It was pulled down by military spending cuts. The best growth came in the Plains states, 5.4 percent, and Great Lakes states, 4.6 percent.

New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, which had been hardest hit by the recession, had better-than-average growth, 4.4 percent and 4.3 percent respectively.

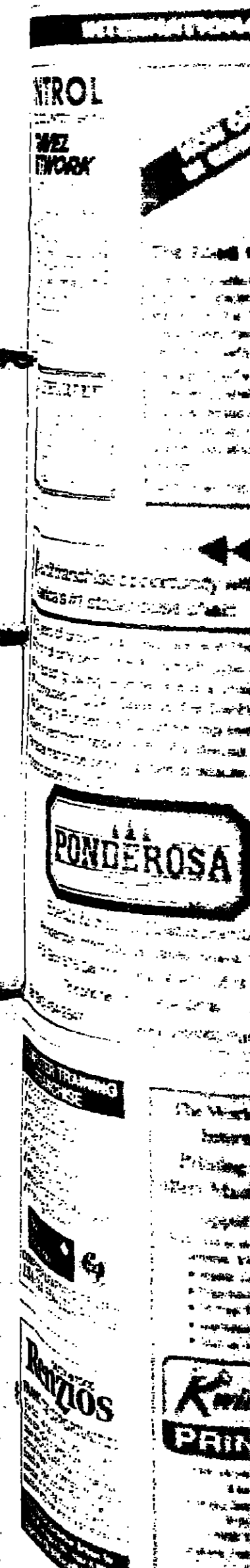
"California went into the recession later than the rest of the country. Now, with the defense cutbacks, they're bearing the pain at a time when the other states are starting to come out of it," said economist David Wysz of DRI-McGraw Hill, a Lexington, Mass., forecasting firm.

(AP, Bloomberg)

Table of economic data including columns for High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, and Limit Order. This table is smaller than the NYSE table and contains fewer columns.

Table of economic data including columns for High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, and Limit Order. This table is larger than the previous one and contains more columns of data.

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NYSE

Tuesday's Closing Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

Table with columns: 12 Month High Low Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Bid, Offer. Lists various stocks and their prices.

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ADVERTISMENT

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Quotations supplied by funds listed. Most asset value quotations are supplied by the funds listed with the exception of some quotes based on issuer prices.

The marginal symbols indicate frequency of quotations supplied (d - daily; w - weekly; bi - bi-monthly; p - quarterly; q - twice weekly; m - monthly).

April 27, 1993

Table listing various international funds with columns for fund name, asset value, and other details.

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Carmakers To Get Aid In Japan

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches TOKYO — Japan has designated the car industry as recession-hit for the first time, allowing it to start receiving subsidies next month to pay temporarily laid-off employees, the Ministry of Labor said Tuesday.

In May, the number of industries qualifying for subsidies, which are paid by the government and employers, will increase to 138 from 119 in April and only two last September, a ministry official said.

The newly designated industries include the car, car parts and computer industries, the ministry said. The money will be used to pay partial salaries to employees temporarily laid off, for training and other purposes.

The total of designated industries is below the peak of 165 in May 1987 during a previous recession caused by a steep rise in the yen, the ministry said.

But in the number of regular employees qualifying for the subsidies will surge to 3.67 million in May from 2.78 million in April, far above the 2.36 million in May 1987.

The numbers of industries and employees will not fall soon but could rise as the designation is for one year, it added.

The increase in troubled industries came as a key gauge of future economic activity in Japan signaled growth in February for the second straight month.

The report on Japan's leading economic indicators offered a sign the recession-battered economy is starting to recover.

The Economic Planning Agency said the index stood at 80 in February, up from a revised 54.5 in January. The agency considers a reading above 50 a sign of future expansion.

The January index was revised upward from its preliminary reading of 50.

The agency said the figures suggest lingering stagnation but good prospects for growth. (Reuters, AP)

Hong Kong's Newest Player Connections in Beijing Give It an Edge

HONG KONG — When New China Hong Kong Group Ltd. announced last week that it had clinched two mega-deals in China less than eight weeks after opening its doors, Hong Kong's financial community hardly flinched.

After all, the Hong Kong investment company enjoys plenty of string-pulling prowess in Beijing. It was launched after Tsui Tin-tong, the company's chairman and a member of China's top advisory council, the People's Political Consultative Conference, had met with Prime Minister Li Peng to discuss China's economic development.

Mr. Tsui said the prime minister and other top officials suggested that he launch an investment company to promote projects in China as well as attract investment. The idea appealed to him and he sought backing.

Chinese state enterprises now hold a 32.5 percent equity stake in the company. And it has deep pockets thanks to some heavyweight investors. Hong Kong shareholders hold 55 percent, while the government of Singapore holds a 12.5 percent position.

Mr. Tsui makes no apologies to critics in the British colony, who claim his company's ties to Beijing give it an unfair edge over rival Hong Kong companies.

They are especially miffed that the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office, the Chinese agency that sets Beijing's policy for the territory, until recently held a 2 percent stake in the investment company.

"There isn't any fairness about doing business in Hong Kong," Mr. Tsui said. "People from Jardine Fleming, Swire Pacific Ltd. and Hongkong Bank were always members of the Executive Council, which decides the future development of Hong Kong. Can you say this set up is fair?"

What is clear is that New China may well shake up the established pecking order within Hong Kong finance. With the territory set to revert to Beijing's control in 1997, some analysts see long-established British conglomerates, the so-called hong, losing clout to newcomers with strong ties to China.

The company's expansionary designs are already taking shape. It has just signed a letter of intent with the provincial government of Sichuan to construct a 300-kilometer (480-mile) highway. Total investment in the project should surpass 3 billion yuan (\$525 million).

The company also plans to develop a building complex in Beijing, a harbor on the island of Hainan, a telecommunications network and a highway in Guangdong province.

In addition, New China hopes to be a big player in financial services. The company will be setting up mutual funds by the end of the year to invest in Chinese public works projects. Its merchant-banking operation will begin offering services to corporate clients this week.

AT&T Gets First Phone Equipment Contract From NTT

By Keith Bradsher New York Times Service WASHINGTON — After years of trans-Pacific trade over telephone equipment, American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has tentatively agreed to sell a dozen of its most advanced switchboard systems to Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Co.

The deal is the first instance of AT&T's selling telecommunications equipment to NTT, which is the world's largest local telephone company and is two-thirds owned by the Japanese government.

Monday's transaction came after years of pressure applied by the United States to get NTT to break its reliance on Japanese suppliers.

In recent weeks, U.S. officials had let NTT and the Japanese government know that they were closely watching the talks.

U.S. and Japanese government officials and corporate executives played down the political side of Monday's announcement, which was also made by NTT in Tokyo.

AT&T's vice chairman, Randall L. Tobias, contended Monday's decision showed AT&T made a competitive product. But he added U.S. officials "have certainly been helpful to us in engineering, as nearly as they could, a level playing field."

Seichiro Noburo, the economics minister at the Japanese embassy in Washington, said Monday's deal had "absolutely nothing to do with political pressure because NTT has been continuously increasing its purchases since the early 1980s."

The Japanese government has a record of making concessions on certain contracts at politically opportune times, and this may not signal a broader opening of the market. Japanese imports of U.S. telecommunications equipment dropped sharply last year, to \$555 million from \$699 million in 1991.

Anne Luzzatto, the press secretary for U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, declined to comment.

Monday's announcement coincided with increased activity in the U.S. administration's review of whether to classify imported minivans and sport-utility vehicles as trucks instead of cars, a move that would raise import tariffs on them to 25 percent from 2.5 percent, helping to protect Detroit automakers.

At a National Economic Council meeting on Friday of deputy cabinet secretaries, Roger Altman, the deputy Treasury secretary, presented a review of the advantages and disadvantages of such a move, a Treasury official said.

President Bill Clinton said on March 23 that a decision under former President George Bush to classify the vehicles as cars was "a \$300-million-a-year freebie to the Japanese for no apparent reason," a reference to the difference in what the two tariff rates would yield in annual revenues to the government.

A possible compromise under discussion in the auto industry and Washington would have the Treasury reclassify the minivans and sport-utility vehicles as trucks and then lower the truck tariff to 8.5 percent from 25 percent.

Mr. Tobias of AT&T said Monday's switching equipment announcement had been in preparation for weeks and that the timing was not determined by politics.

NTT's purchasing practices have been the subject of trade squabbles and bilateral agreements since the 1970s, when the Japanese company's chairman then, Tokuji Akikusa, made a comment that his company might "open procurement to the U.S. for buckets, rags, mops and miscellaneous office supplies."

Investor's Asia table with columns for Hong Kong Hang Seng, Singapore Straits Times, Tokyo Nikkei 225, and various regional indices with their respective values and changes.

Very briefly:

- Japan Air Lines Co. said it would, in June and July only, pay any worker aged between 35 and 45 who retires voluntarily half again what it owes them in retirement bonuses.
Japan's index of consumer confidence stood at a seasonally adjusted 38.3 in January-March, its lowest level since the July-September quarter of 1982, when it was 38.2.
The Mayer Steel Pipe Corp., one of Taiwan's largest makers of galvanized steel pipe, saw its stock rise near the 7 percent upper limit on its first day of trading on the Taiwan Stock Exchange.
Chicago has received permission to invest \$50 million, S.G. Warburg \$50 million, and John Govett & Co. \$2.5 million in Taiwanese stocks.
Manila Electric Co. posted a 3 percent loss in its first-quarter sales this year against its year-ago level due to the power crisis, executives told stockholders in a meeting.
Vietnam is keen to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and will discuss membership of the organization with GATT's director-general, Arthur Dunkel, next month, trade ministry officials said.
China's real estate investment rose by 117 percent in 1992 and is rising rapidly again this year, said vice minister for construction, Zhou Ganzhi. (Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP)

Investors Return to Tokyo Market

The Associated Press TOKYO — Individual investors, until recently an increasingly rare breed in the Tokyo stock market, are tentatively making a return.

The Tokyo market appears to be rebounding from a two-year slump, and individual investors are following the lead of foreign and institutional investors back to the market.

In the last two weeks of January, share orders by individuals accounted for less than 100 billion yen (\$880 million), or 11 percent to 15 percent of first-session purchases through 73 major brokers, according to the Tokyo Stock Exchange.

By the latter half of March, that figure had almost quadrupled to 496 billion yen, or 27 percent.

The return of wary individual investors to the market reflects growing optimism about the recent surge of Tokyo's Nikkei Stock Average from six-year lows — near 14,000 points — to its highest level in over a year, above 20,000.

"Individual investors are now adding new holdings to the ones they already have," said Yoshio Inoue, an analyst with Nomura Securities Co.

The Nikkei index is widely viewed in Japan as a key indicator of confidence in the nation's economy and financial system. Its recent recovery is seen as an indication the worst of Japan's financial crisis is over, although some analysts say it is too early to conclude the recession has bottomed out.

The Nikkei bounced above 20,000 points early this month. It closed Tuesday at 20,206.71.

Stock prices began rising late last year as the government pushed billions of dollars of public funds into the market, hoping to brighten investor sentiment.

It worked, partly because the government also announced plans for the largest economic recovery package in history.

AMEX

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AMEX table listing various stocks and their closing prices.

High Low Stock

Table listing high and low stock prices for various companies.

High Low Stock

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Large table of financial data, likely a continuation of the AMEX or stock market data, listing various metrics and values.

OBSERVER

How to Play the Game

By Russell Baker
NEW YORK — President Clinton's bad week at the Capitol brings to mind Casey Stengel, Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson.

asking where Church was getting material for his powerful antiwar speeches. Getting it from Walter Lippmann, the newspaper columnist said Church.

It was the New York Mets, a brand-new expansion team, that provoked Stengel's cry of anguish.

Such is a president's power to sway senators' minds once he understands what makes them swayed.

That means, in case baseball is not your dish, a comical punch of greenhorns and fired old-timers who don't win very often.

It is a graceless way to state the matter, but a president who can't buy a few senators when a few mean the difference between triumph and embarrassment probably didn't do his homework in president's school.

New presidents shouldn't lose show-downs like this during their first hundred days. This is when a new president ought to be proving he is a winner.

Which is why Franklin Roosevelt comes to mind, and a story I heard told at a long-ago Washington dinner by Thomas (Tommy) the Cork) Corcoran, once one of Roosevelt's bright young men:

Counting votes on an important bill, FDR was astonished when an adviser warned him that he would have to do a large favor for a distinguished senator from the cactus belt or lose his vote.

How often do we have to buy him? he asked. And was told: "Every time, Mr. President. Every time."

Which is why Lyndon Johnson comes to mind. Johnson's demagogues have done such a good job blackening his name that people have forgotten he was the last president who understood the science of domestic politics.

What efforts more persuasive than collegial discourse President Clinton may have made to win four crucial senators have not been publicly disclosed.

Without cataloguing Johnson's full line of equipment for changing senatorial minds, I merely point out that the most formidable part of it was knowledge.

Which brings Franklin Roosevelt again to mind, for he too was surrounded by brilliant young lawyers who, as the old Washington wheeze has it, "came to do good, and stayed to do well."

In "The Best and the Brightest," David Halberstam tells of Frank Church, senator from Idaho and critic of Johnson's Vietnam policy, meeting with LBJ, and Johnson

Which goes a long way toward unraveling the numbers earning their Certificate of Aptitude Professional (CAP) in cuisine at lycées or in apprenticeship programs today.

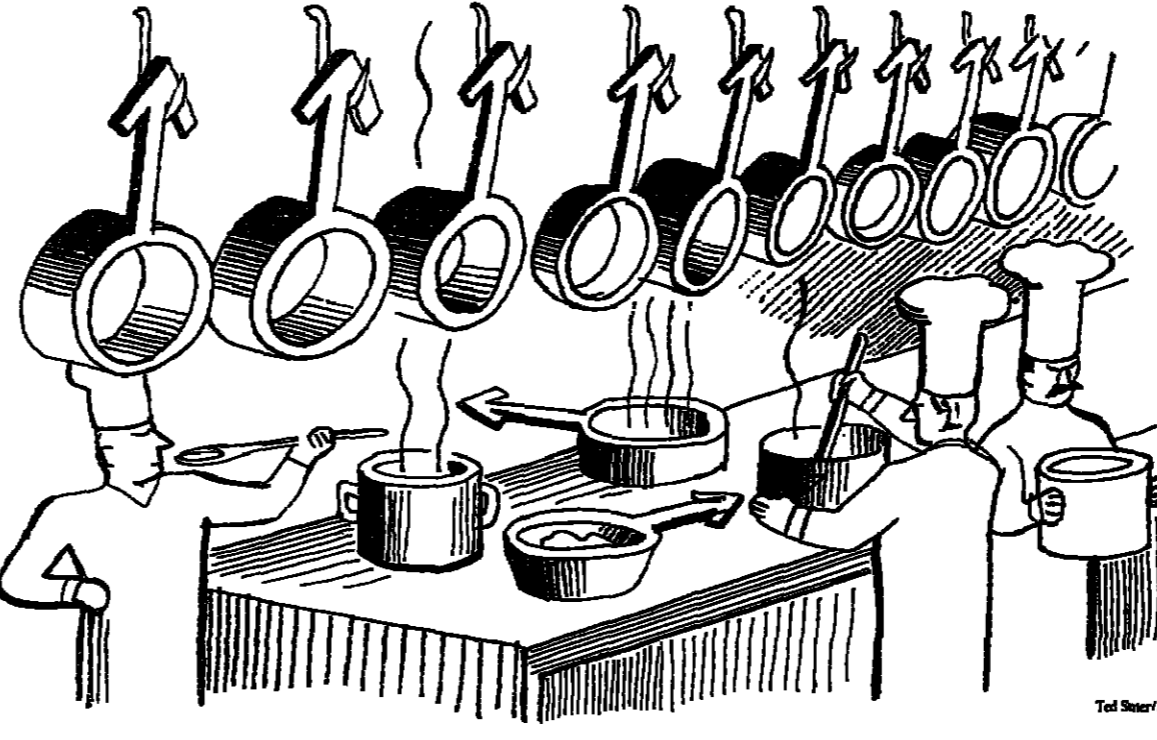
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Male Chefs in France: Cooking à la Mode

By Christopher Petkanas

PARIS — On a sheet of paper headed "gastronomic values" Christiane Massia listed aesthetics, technique, invention and meditation in the column marked "man" and nutrition, tradition, simplicity and product integrity in the one marked "woman."



Ted Sater/THT

Women cooks are attached to the soil, regional food, recipes learned from their grandmothers," says Massia, chef-owner of the Restaurant du Marché here.

two and a half percent of the total 488 one-star ratings. No woman has won two or three, though it is expected that Ghislaine Arabian, who is rocking Paris with her beef-infused cuisine at Ledoyen, will recapture her second star after setting in.

United States have not had nearly the rough time women in France have had. With her spiritual and alimentary lifeline to Provence, one of the most important people to happen to food in America in the last 50 years is a woman: Alice Waters.

And yet if kitchens remain dominated by men in France, no one should be surprised, says Hyman. "It's an old-boy network, a husky milieu. Women are hazed — tested, pushed, made to cry. The rapport between male chefs is like the rapport between rugby players. They may know all about the perfectly poised spring of cervix, but these guys are brutes."

Women were even shut out of cook-book-writing. "The earliest French recipe collection dates from around 1300, but it is not until 1829 that women finally write a cookbook," says Philip Hyman.

Other possible inspirational figures include members of the Association of Women Restaurateurs-Cooks, one of whose goals is to counter misogyny by giving preferential consideration to women when staffing their kitchens.

Lunch at La Bonne Table finds slightly paunchy, badly groomed men of a certain age in ill-fitting jackets and nasty shoulder pads eating it when the boss comes out of the kitchen and tells them to order the pain perdu.

President François Mitterrand's former cook can tell 80 percent of the time if food is prepared by a man or woman — "but not if it's divorced from its setting," says Danielle Mazat-Delpouch, whose Women Cooks of the World organization is consecrated to family cooking.

Which brings Franklin Roosevelt again to mind, for he too was surrounded by brilliant young lawyers who, as the old Washington wheeze has it, "came to do good, and stayed to do well."

Arabian mocks both groups. "You can't exactly say they breathe optimism. The men will end up playing cards, the women knitting. If a girl really has the desire to work in this milieu she'll knock on the door and take the job."

Sex in the kitchen is even an issue in the United States. A recent CNN spot showing two plates of food asked viewers to guess which was the man's (the Lego-like construction of vegetables), which the woman's (looked like stew and puree). What is certain is that women in the culinary arts in the

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Christopher Petkanas is writing a history of the New York decorating firm Parish-Hadley.

PEOPLE

William Kennedy Smith Out of the Media Glare

Kennedy Update: For a while, William Kennedy Smith was one of the more visible members of the Kennedy bunch. Then, he slipped back into relative obscurity after his acquittal on rape charges.

Prince Andrew, following a traditional career path for Britain's royal men, achieved what he called every naval officer's dream on Tuesday when he took charge of a warship.

NBC has hired an unknown comedy writer, Conan O'Brien, 30, to replace David Letterman as the host of its "Late Night" comedy and talk show.

The high and mighty of show business bowed low to the nation's premier playwright as the New York Friars Club honored Neil Simon as its man of the year.

David N. Reinkens of New York asked the 55-year-old Simon "to write my second term in office," adding he had one condition: "I must play myself."

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED Appears on Pages 15 & 19

WEATHER

Table with weather forecasts for various regions including Europe, North America, Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, and Oceania.

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CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down words.

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Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down words.

BOOKS

AMONG THE DEAD By Michael Tolkin, 273 pages. \$20. William Morrow & Co. Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

calculating every sentiment. Frank tells Anna he's been having an affair with a woman named Mary Sifka for six months. It's over now, he declares; he's ready to work on his marriage.

Then, suddenly, all of Frank's neat plans are turned upside-down. News leaks out at the airport that Anna's flight has crashed; a former employee of the airline, who's recently been fired, has shot the pilot and blown up the plane.

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BEST SELLERS

Table listing best-selling books and their authors, including titles like 'The Bridges of Madison County' and 'The Last Command'.



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